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The

Democratic Underwood-Simmons Tariff Bill

A Colossal Failure and Most Disastrous to Labor, Industry and Agriculture, As Has Been All Legislation for "Tariff for Revenue Only" from 1789 to 1913

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An Address by

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THE DEMOCRATIC UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF BILL A COLOSSAL FAILURE AND MOST DISASTROUS TO LABOR, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

Address by Frederic E. Kip, of Montclair, N. J.

1912 High Point of Prosperity

The high water mark of prosperity (excluding the prosperity arising from the great European war and the huge war orders rushed here a few months after the declaration of hostilities) judged by the remuneration to labor, and the returns in industry and agriculture,—was reached in 1911 and 1912. Labor was fully employed from Maine to California at the highest wages ever paid in the United States previous to the declaration of the present European war, and the conditions of industry and agriculture were more prosperous than at any period ever reached in our industrial and agricultural development. At a manufacturers' meeting in the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut, in October, 1912, a number of manufacturers and merchants spoke and voiced the opinion that never in all their previous experience,—the experience of some of them ranging through some forty years,—had they ever known a presidential election, then only two weeks away, when business was so generally good all over the country.

The election of November, 1912, put the Democratic party in full control of the executive and legislative functions of our government, and shortly after March 4th, 1913, President Wilson called a special session of Congress to consider the framing of a new tariff bill. When Congress convened and the general public obtained an inkling of the character of the tariff bill that would be enacted,—immediately thereafter, like a biting frost over night, the business of this country in all lines of industry restricted itself by every means possible and the high water mark of 1912, of prosperity in industry, commenced rapidly to recede, resulting in constantly increasing curtailment of business, closing of factories and loss of employment for labor. Finally, on October 3rd, 1913, the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill was passed. Now at last the country knew that all the Democratic platform and campaign promises not to disturb labor, legitimate business or industry, were simply fakes and evidently made to be broken, because here was a bill, now an actual law, granting to foreigners by far the lowest duty rates ever heard of in the United States.

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Passage of Underwood Tariff and Immediate Recession of Prosperity

After its passage the disastrous result of this half free-trade tariff bill was immediately felt in every city, town and hamlet of our country. Many factories closed completely and honest labor walked the streets by thousands upon thousands, vainly searching for employment.

Just get the following fact well in your mind: **From the great prosperity of 1912,** within six months after the passage of the Underwood tariff bill (October, 1913) disaster and ruin were upon our industries and agony upon our people. The following examples will give an idea of the extent of the disaster wrought by this "half free-trade" tariff bill:

Disaster, Ruin and Agony

Soup kitchens to help feed the unemployed were opened up, through charity, in all of the large cities, including the cities of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, etc.,—and the mayor of New York City, in a public appeal, asked for and implored that there be formed immediately a committee of prominent citizens to obtain relief for unemployed and starving workers and their families in New York City. It was estimated that between 450,000 and 500,000 workers were out of employment in New York City alone, not to mention at all those who were working on short time.

New York City Morgue Opened as a Place to Sleep

In the winter of 1914, for the first time in the history of New York City, the morgue was opened up at night by order of the city officials, as a lodging place for the unemployed who had no place to sleep. Just think of it, honest, industrious workmen, who one year before had had steady employment, with full pay envelopes, thrown out of work and home by the Democratic tariff fallacy of "Tariff for revenue only," and compelled, in order to keep themselves from freezing, to sleep in the morgue, or the house of the unknown dead. This action portrays most vividly the awful destitution of our unemployed workers. Also, a department was opened by the United States Government to act as an employment agency. Mr. Gompers and other labor leaders estimated that approximately four million (4,000,000) persons were then (February, 1914) out of employment in the United States. This, together with short time, resulted in loss of wages alone of ten million ($10,000,000) dollars per day or three billion ($3,000,000,000) dollars per annum,—resulting in low purchasing power, poor business and the well known "bad times" of that period, which extended to the outbreak of the European war.

4,000,000 Workmen Unemployed, Loss of Wages $10,000,000 Per Day

The Democratic contention that the Underwood bill did not protect was fully realized.

When the bill was pending in the Senate, the Republican Senator, Mr. McLean, of Connecticut, made inquiry of Senator Simmons, of North Carolina (the framer of the bill in the Senate), which elicited this reply:

Betrayal of Labor by the Democratic Party

"I do not know, Mr. President, what is the difference in the cost of producing this article here and abroad. I have not investigated that. We have not been trying to balance the difference in labor cost here and abroad, because we were not trying to make a protective bill."

A further inquiry from Senator McLean provoked from Senator Simmons a more emphatic statement of the position of the Democratic party:

"Now, the Senator from Connecticut is talking about protection. He says: 'One gives adequate protection and the other does not give adequate protection.' I have stated to the Senator that we were not trying to give protection in the duties on imports here."

Truly, the bill did not protect American labor, American industry nor American agriculture. It not only invited imports, but resulted in the greatest deluge of imports ever known in the history of the United States for a similar period.

Terrific Increase of Imports Under Underwood Tariff

The following statistics of comparison of imports for the fiscal years 1911 to 1916 inclusive, show at a glance that the imports for the three years ending June 30th, 1914, 1915 and 1916 under the Underwood-Simmons bill, increased over the imports under the Republican Payne bill for the previous three years 1911, 1912 and 1913 **to the terrific extent of over $772,000,000, as set forth in the following statistics:**

COMPARISON OF IMPORTS

For fiscal years 1911 to 1916 inclusive.
General Imports.

Republican Payne-Aldrich Bill		Democratic Underwood-Simmons Bill	
Fiscal Year	Total Imports	Fiscal Year	Total Imports
1911	$1,527,226,105	1914	(a)$1,893,925,657
1912	1,653,264,934	1915	1,674,169,740
1913	1,813,008,234	1916	2,197,883,510
Total	$4,993,499,273	Total	$5,765,978,907

(a) 3 months of Payne; 9 months of Underwood.

Summary

Payne, 3 years	$4,993,499,273
Underwood, 3 years	5,765,978,907
Increase of importations under the Underwood Tariff Bill of	$772,479,634

Tremendous increase of importations of merchandise, notwithstanding the complete cessation of shipments from the Central Powers.

Great Decrease in Customs Receipts, Notwithstanding the Tremendous Increase in Imports

Kindly retain in your mind the significant fact that with Germany, Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria and all the Central Powers not exporting a dollar's worth of goods, in the last two years, into the United States, owing to Great Britain's prevention thereof by her control of the sea, **the importations into the United States for the fiscal years ending June 30th, 1914, 1915, and 1916 increased above those of 1911, 1912 and 1913 by over $772,000,000, but the duties collected during the same period fell off to the extent of over $230,000,000, as shown by the following statistics.**

Customs Receipts

Payne-Aldrich		Underwood-Simmons	
Fiscal Year	Customs Receipts	Fiscal Year	Customs Receipts
1911	$314,497,071	1914	(a)$292,320,015
1912	311,321,672	1915	209,786,672
1913	318,891,396	1916	211,866,223
Total	$944,710,139	Total	$713,972,910

(a) 3 months of Payne; 9 months of Underwood.

Summary of Customs Receipts

Payne, 3 years	$944,710,139
Underwood, 3 years	713,972,910
Decrease in receipts by Underwood Bill	$230,737,229

Underwood Tariff a Complete Failure

These figures alone, without any other facts, prove the complete failure of the Democratic Underwood-Simmons tariff bill. There is, however, abundant additional proof on every side of its utter failure, for labor, for industry and for agriculture.

The admissions of the Democratic President and the Secretary of the Treasury in September, 1914, are on their face proof of the bill's complete failure. The Secretary of the Treasury on September 21st, 1914, appealed to Congress for what he called a "War Revenue Act," which, it was estimated, would add $100,000,000 to the receipts under the Underwood Bill.

The reason given by President Wilson and the Democrats for resorting to this emergency revenue act was "that it was due solely to the falling off of importations," **when as a matter of fact the importations had tremendously increased, and even in the very month of October, 1914, the excess of importations over October, 1913, was over $5,000,000; furthermore, from that time to the present the importations have terrifically increased,** as shown previously herein. The complete failure of the Underwood tariff to provide revenue is due solely to the fact that the duties therein are entirely too low,—far the lowest on record in the history of the United States, the average duty rates for June, 1916, being only a trifle over 8 per cent. The monthly duty rates, under the Underwood tariff, for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1916, have been as follows:

Underwood Tariff Rates the Lowest in Our History

1915.	Per cent.
July	10.04
August	11.10
September	9.85
October	11.65
November	10.75
December	9.45
1916.	
January	8.49
February	9.92
March	9.79
April	8.69
May	8.81
June	8.09
Or an average for the year of....	9.72%
If the sugar duty had not been restored, the rate would now be about	7.32%

Note.—The Underwood Bill as passed provided that sugar should be entirely free, beginning May 1st, 1916. The Democratic party was then in most desperate straits for funds, due to lack of customs receipts. Shortly before this date arrived, however, legislation was passed cancelling this provision of the law.

When the European war is over (as it must be in 1917), and Germany, Austria, Turkey and the other Central Powers resume production and shipments to this country (now prohibited), if the Underwood tariff law remains on our statute books, the increase in importations must amount to at least double the

above. **With such terrific importations labor in all industries must of necessity be affected most detrimentally and thousands of honest workmen will have to seek employment unsuccessfully,** due to the influx of imported goods at an average tariff rate of a trifle over 8%, which **I wish emphatically to affirm is today lower than the tariff rate of any large nation of Europe, namely, lower than France, Germany, Russia, Italy, or even "free-trade" England.**

Our wages 2½ to 3 times those paid in the best parts of Europe.

Disaster, Ruin and Agony After the European War is Over

The wages in the United States are 2½ to 3 times those paid in the best parts of Europe, and 10 to 15 times as high as the wages paid in the Orient. The higher wages paid here can only be maintained if the difference between the labor cost here and abroad is compensated by a tariff. Certainly and most emphatically an average tariff rate, for the last fiscal year ending June 30th, 1916, of 9.72%, which is lower than any tariff rate of Europe today, cannot compensate for wages 2½ to 3 times higher in this country. Inevitably, unless this tariff bill is changed,—when the war is over and the influx of importations is still further increased to an extent unprecedented and unknown before in our history, of a necessity these imported articles must displace similar domestic articles made here in the United States, in the manufacture of which thousands, yes millions of our workmen are now employed,—and of a necessity great numbers of these workmen will be thrown out of employment, creating chaos, disaster and agony to industry, agriculture and all the people of the United States.

International Merchant and Manufacturer

I am an international manufacturer and merchant, owning and operating mills in France, England and the United States. I am, therefore, well acquainted with the amount of wages paid in France, England, Germany and Italy, and I wish to strongly emphasize the fact that with the higher wages here, unless the Underwood tariff rates of the averages of 8% to 10% are **materially increased** before the European war is over, Europe just as soon as her productive power gets under full swing, will simply inundate us with importations of merchandise to an extent simply unheard of before, and in my opinion labor and industry will suffer to an extent far, far greater than in any previous period of United States history.

Our financial and economic conditions after the Great War.

Our Financial and Economic Conditions After the Great War

We have seen from the foregoing table that the average duty for the month of June, 1916, was a little over 8%, and that the average duty for the entire fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, was only 9.72%. We have also seen that the importations into the United States (with all of the Central Powers practically not shipping a dollar's worth of goods in the last two years) for the fiscal years 1914, 1915 and 1916 increased above those of the previous years 1911, 1912, and 1913 to the terrific extent of over $772,000,000. When the war is over and the production of the Central Powers is resumed it is only reasonable to suppose that under the Underwood tariff rates (the lowest ever known in our history) instead of the increase in importations for three years being over $772,000,000 it will probably be double that amount.

Titanic European Combination of Nations; for the Industrial Supremacy of the World

The results of this tariff bill, with its average duties of a little over 8% (June, 1916), when the war is over, must be most detrimental even if there were no unusual combinations in Europe for the domination of the world's industry, but in view of the remarkable alliances made by the Central Powers and the Entente Allies for the commercial and industrial domination of the world's trade, the Underwood tariff with its eight to nine per cent. average duties, if it still remains on our statute books, will make the United States an easy prey for the greatest influx of imports ever known, which, of necessity, will throw millions of honest workmen out of employment, and the disaster and ruin to our industries and agriculture and the distress to our workmen and all the people of the United States will be so far greater than any previous period of semi-free trade depression that the former experiences will seem like a gentle zephyr in comparison with a full-fledged tornado.

The following facts will show Europe's titanic combinations, created for the sole purpose of dominating the commerce and industry of the entire world.

GERMANY—Efforts for industrial supremacy.

Twelve Great Foreign Nations in Two Separate and Controlling Combinations for Industrial and Commercial Domination of the World

From the best information obtainable at this time it appears that on January 25, 1916, the representatives of the Central Powers—Germany, Austria and Bulgaria—met at Dresden to appoint a Commission to work out an agreement which, according to the official declaration of the allied powers at Paris, on June 22, 1916, has for its evident object the establishment of their domination over the production and the markets of the whole world and to impose upon the other countries an unacceptable hegemony.

ENTENTE ALLIES—Efforts for industrial supremacy.

To meet this declaration of a renewed world-wide trade war, a conference of the allied powers was held at Paris on March 28, 1916, and a convention of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, Portugal, Servia, Italy and Russia was authorized. This resulted in a convention which was held at Paris, July 14 to 17, 1916, and a copy of the convention's agreement can be found in the Appendix A, page 57 of this article.

I would like to call your special attention to the industrial equipment and possessions of the contending industrial giants and to some of the principal points contained in the agreement arrived at by the Convention at Paris, July 14-17, 1916, so that we can clearly understand the condition which must confront the United States when the European war is over, a situation which would be bad enough with an ordinary tariff, but which becomes absolutely **impossible under the Democratic Underwood low tariff with its average duties of 8% to 9%.**

First—CENTRAL POWERS ON THE ONE HAND (Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey).

Central Powers

Their population, including Turkey, will be about 160,000,000. In the raw material essential to the world's domination, aside from iron, of which Germany is the second largest producer, these powers are distinctly lacking. In efficiency, utilization of by-products, technical education of her people, intensive agriculture, co-ordination of industries at home, and scientific selling organizations abroad, Germany leads the world.

Second—ENTENTE ALLIES ON THE OTHER HAND (Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, Portugal, Servia, Italy and Russia).

Entente Allies

The allies with their colonies number about 1,100,000,000 people. They even monopolize or practically control the essential world's products which the Central Powers lack. Namely, they control coal, iron, manganese, tin, nickel, platina, the metallic alloys, aluminum, wool, jute, hemp, flax, silk and rubber. Russia has the largest reserve supply of lumber in the world, and Egypt, India and Russia are rapidly increasing their growth of cotton. They mine 150 times as much gold as the Central Powers and practically three-quarters of the world's production, and boldly proclaim their complete control of the seas. These are the opposing forces.

> **Six-tenths of the world against one-tenth and the other three-tenths neutral with no voice in the matter.**

And if the press reports are correct, the request of France that the United States might be admitted to the convention of the allies was refused by Great Britain.

This great combination, by far the greatest the world has ever known or ever dreamed of, must wield a terrific power, and although it may not be aimed at neutral countries, it certainly means the commercial ruin of some and a bitter industrial war with others.

The agreement provides for joint action during the war, for the reconstruction period, and for permanent measures of mutual assistance thereafter. A few quotations from the agreements will be most illuminating:

Most Remarkable Measures and Undertakings

> "To conserve for themselves before all others their own natural resources" and "to develop their own economic activities to the end of assuring their independence both in regard to sources of supply and in their financial, commercial and maritime organization."

This, undoubtedly, they have a right to do if they do not transgress the rights of neutrals, but when they declare that they will

> "devise measures which will prevent the Central Powers from exercising **in time of peace,** within **their own** territories, the industries and professions which concern **their own** national defense and economic independence"

they thereby declare **their own intention** to dominate the trade of the world **for their own purposes**, and to compel every neutral power to surrender their own right to commercial relations with other powers on terms and conditions which any two nations may agree upon for themselves.

Commercial Warfare for the Industrial Domination of the World

Full notice has, therefore, been served upon all the world by eight sovereign nations, bound together by signed and sealed agreements, on one side, and by three nations on the other side, that they propose to fan into life again the flame which set all of Europe on fire two years ago and to start again (only with greater determination, and with far greater organization) **commercial warfare for the industrial domination of the world.**

Talent in Europe and Talent in the U. S.

In view of these existing conditions it might be well, and certainly profitable, to look into the composition of the individuals of the different nations that make up these titanic combinations for industrial supremacy and compare them with the talent of the Democratic Party, opposed thereto in the United States.

Merchants and business men in politics and in charge of governmental supervision of Europe.

Business Men in European Governments' Politics

In England the men of great business capacity are invited by the government to become Members of Parliament so that a successful business man, when he reaches 50 to 55, gives to his government ten to twenty years more of his life for service. The consequence is that England, by this method, has become the greatest commercial nation in the whole world. Everyone who knows anything at all about economics knows that the prosperity of a nation is a thing of careful and delicate adjustment—a thing dependent upon many conditions, some of them subtle, remote, and all closely interrelated—and that it is only possible for any government to get the best results along this line by having in their legislative houses men of experience in business, economics, industry, and commerce. Many of these men in England are knighted merely for their success in business ways.

Again, in France, they go through the same process, only there they are known as members of the Legion of Honor. Again, in Germany exactly the same methods are employed, and the successful business man sought by the government. There they are known as "Commercienrath."

So we have seen that we will have, after the war, the greatest combination of nations or trusts that the world has ever known or ever dreamed of, formed and organized by the greatest business men of the respective countries. all operating for the sole purpose of commercial domination of the world.

Again, we have seen that particularly in England, France and Germany the experienced business man is sought after by the government and placed in the high seat of honor in order to get his constructive ability working for the benefit of the people.

Democratic Talent

What have we in the United States, under Democratic legislation and statesmanship, to offset these gigantic combinations, and how does the personnel and talent of the Democratic statesmen compare with those of the European nations? I quote from a speech of the Hon. Martin B. Madden in the House of Representatives, January 7, 1915.

Clayton anti-trust bill and the Congressmen who framed it.

Mr. Madden, in referring to this bill, said that it was so illogically drawn that no man understood its provisions or functions. He winds up a most interesting and illuminating speech on this subject as follows:

Congressman Madden's Description of Our Democratic Talent

"You have passed legislation to regulate the conduct of the ten thousand different kinds of business in which the American people are engaged, in which they have $250,000,000,000 of capital invested, and not a man north of Mason and Dixon's line, not even a Democrat, was allowed to serve on the committee that drafted the legislation and engineered it through the House. None but men living in that section, whose business is cotton raising, were given an opportunity to make a suggestion as to what the legislation should be.

"You have thrown the business of the country into chaos by this legislation. No man knows how he is to be affected by it. The Clayton bill does more to disturb the business of the country than any legislation which has been considered by this or any other Congress during my recollection, and yet it will be noted that the industrial and financial interests of the North, where the greatest development along these lines has taken place, had no part in the preparation of the legislation which

so vitally affects these interests; that no Representative of either the Democratic or Republican Party north of the Mason and Dixon line was permitted to assist in the preparation of the Clayton anti-trust bill.

"The section of the country represented in Congress by men having experience in business and understanding the country's business needs was ignored in the preparation of this bill, and the Sub-Committee of the Judiciary Committee which framed the bill consisted of three Southern Democrats—Floyd, of Yellville, Ark., a town of 400 people at the foot of the Ozark Mountains, where no business transaction exceeding $1,000 has probably ever been heard of; Clayton, of Eufaula, Ala., a town whose most important business is conducted by a man who sells hard boiled eggs; and Carlin, of Alexandria, Va., a town which Mark Twain said 'was the only finished city in the world, the last nail having been driven in it, and the grass was growing on its streets.'"

Refusal to establish cost system for armor plate works.

Armor Plate Plant

The very best brains of the Democratic Party in the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted for the so-called "Government Armor Plate Bill" appropriating $11,000,000 for site and building of an armor plate plant. Of course, it will take $20,000,000 to $30,000,000 more to operate such a plant. The avowed purpose for establishing such a plant is to save the government money, and if so it should be worth while to find out exactly what the facts are relative thereto. However, both in the House of Representatives and the United States Senate they declined to accept the following amendment to their bill:

"That expert chartered accountants shall be employed to open a set of books which shall exhibit every item of expense, direct and collateral, which may be charged against the preparation of the plant, the selection and purchase of a site, the construction and equipment of the proposed plant, and the cost per ton of the output for each month of the operation of the plant."

Both in the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate this amendment was voted down **solely by Democratic votes.** Everyone knows that any

manufacturing concern, to exist at all, must have their costs **and proper costs.** But of course the government of the United States can refuse, **while they have votes,** to allow costs to be made, **and if the costs of production are two or three times what they could buy their supplies for outside, no one will ever know about it under this system and the extra expense will simply be deducted from the pockets of the people.**

Democratic Methods that Would RUIN Any Business Undertaking

Such imbecile methods of business as those practised by our Democratic Senators and Democratic Congressmen prove, without any further argument, the character of the men now in power at Washington. Yet these are the talents in the Democratic Party that we have arrayed against the greatest combination and the greatest business and constructive brains the world has ever known. If such men are to be continued in power the disastrous results to our industry, agriculture, and labor are easily imagined. It simply means this, that unless the voters of this country return the Republican Party to full power in the executive and legislative bodies of the country on November 7th next, the results to labor, industry, agriculture and to all our people will be the most disastrous that America has ever seen or ever dreamed of.

May God Grant Our Voters Wisdom

May God grant our voters wisdom in this, the hour of their need.

John Golden, General President of the Textile Workers of America, considers the Underwood tariff bill a failure and looks with great alarm, when the war is over, upon greater imports with attendant disastrous results to labor.

John Golden, President, Textile Workers of America Sees Disaster Ahead

In view of the Underwood tariff bill resulting in the lowest tariff rates ever known in the history of the United States, far below the rates of any previous tariff bill since our nation became at all an industrial and agricultural factor, and lower **today** than those of any large commercial power of Europe, together with the known and admitted fact that the wages in America are 2½ and 3 times those obtained in the best-paid sections of Europe, it is noteworthy what labor, through John Golden, General President of the United Textile Workers of America—which operates in the entire textile industry of the United States—has to say relative to the dumping of goods on the American market, when the war is over, and the disastrous effects of these imports on American labor.

The following statistics of the annual output in dollars of each branch of the textile industry, together with the number of people employed and the number of people dependent thereon, is most instructive:

Output and Persons Employed in Textile Industry

Branch of Industry	Annual Output of U. S. Plants for 1914	Number of People employed in such plants	Take an average of 3 dependents for each person working (which is a conservative estimate) and it means that the following people are directly dependent upon these industries
Cotton	$701,152,268	387,711	1,550,844
Woolen & Worsted .	464,249,813	209,882	839,528
Hosiery & Knit Goods	263,925,855	136,130	545,520
Silk	253,764,170	105,238	420,952
Jute	83,228,424	27,214	108,856
Total	$1,766,320,530	866,175	3,465,700

3,465,700 people directly dependent thereon and 4 or 5 times that number indirectly dependent thereon.

Labor's View of the Underwood Tariff Rates

John Golden, certainly is in a position to know whether or not the present Underwood tariff, with its lowest average duty rates in the history of this country, is so detrimental to the American workmen, and therefore his remarks, under the heading "A Protective Tariff for the Textile Industry," in the September "Protectionist," are most worthy of consideration.

Mr. Golden writes of the necessity of proper protection in all of the textile industries, viz.: cotton, wool, silk, flax, jute, etc. Taking as a special example the woolen and worsted industry, he states that no doubt in the past there have been placed on some of the woolen and worsted products abnormal tariffs, but he says:

> "Nevertheless this is no reason why the whole of the industry should be made to suffer. Nearly a quarter of a million people are employed directly in the woolen industry, and taking an average of three dependents on each person working (which is a conservative estimate), it means that one million people are directly dependent upon the wool manufacturers for their means of livelihood.
>
> "It is estimated there are 600,000 wool growers in the United States.
>
> "The Report of the United States Tariff Board in 1912 left no room for argument regarding the higher standard of wages paid to wool workers

in this country as against the rates paid in Great Britain for similar operations. Furthermore, we must not lose sight of the fact that in making comparisons with Great Britain we are taking into account the country paying the highest rate of wages in Europe.

"With all these facts in mind, the question which everyone of these quarter million wool workers, with their three-quarter million dependents, is asking at this time is this: if Europe is allowed to dump down upon our shores millions of yards of wool fabrics manufactured at a lower labor cost, under a lower labor standard, and under a tariff that will make it quite easy to undersell American-made goods, what becomes of our opportunity to earn a livelihood for ourselves and those dependent upon us? Are we going to be compelled to go down to European standards?

"Therefore, with this ever in mind, we feel we are well within our constitutional rights in demanding that our federal government (irrespective of what political party may be in power) shall do its part in protecting the large army of textile workers against exploitation, either from within or without, and in my judgment about the greatest menace that threatens our industry immediately after the war on the other side is over will be the opening of our doors to foreign textile fabrics, manufactured under the low standards prevailing in all of the European countries, forcing upon the textile industries in this country **a foreign competition with which it will be impossible to cope."**

I would ask you who anywhere is better qualified to give his opinion on the detrimental effect of low tariff on American labor than the man who is at the head of the labor union which operates in the entire textile industry of the United States? It certainly, therefore, must be absolutely so when this man, over his own signature, in a printed statement, says that he is "greatly in fear for a proper livelihood of the operators when the war is over, and Europe is allowed to dump down upon our shores millions of yards of fabrics manufactured at a lower labor cost, under a lower labor standard and imported into the United States under a tariff (Underwood-Simmons tariff) that will make it quite easy to undersell American-made goods." **Also Mr. Golden states, "in my**

judgment about the greatest menace that threatens our industry, immediately after the war on the other side is over, will be the opening of our doors to foreign textile fabrics, manufactured under the low standards prevailing in all of the European countries, forcing upon the textile industries in this country a foreign competition with which it will be impossible to cope."

Labor Leaders Claim When the War is Over, if the Underwood Tariff Rates Are Still in Force, it will be Impossible for the U. S. to Cope with Europe

Kindly note that Mr. Golden states "with which it will be impossible to cope." Also kindly note that with his great experience he knows the facts about which he is talking. In fact, any sane person must know that no tariff in the United States that averages only a little over 8% to 9%—with wages here 2½ to 3 times those of the best-paid sections of Europe—can possibly compensate for the great difference between the higher wages paid here and the lower wages paid abroad. Therefore, the influx of tremendous importations, when the war is over, is simply inevitable, and unless the Democratic Underwood-Simmons tariff bill is displaced by higher tariff rates during 1917, the chaotic and disastrous results to labor, industry and agriculture in the United States will be such as have never before even been approached by any previous experience in the history of our country.

If It Is So Clear Low Tariffs are Detrimental for Us, Why and How Are They Made Laws?

If it is so clear that a low tariff cannot benefit labor, industry, or agriculture, why is it possible to place such disastrous tariff legislation as the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill on our statute books?

But, some will say, if it is so clear that, with wages 2½ and 3 times higher in America than those of the best-paid parts of Europe, a low tariff of 8% or 10% average must be disastrous to labor, industry and agriculture of the United States, how is it that our legislators can possibly be so foolish as to place such disastrous tariff laws as the Democratic Underwood-Simmons tariff bill (with its average duty of 8.09% for June, 1916, and an average of 9.72% for the entire fiscal year ending June 30, 1916) on our statute books? I have personally analyzed this phase of this very important subject and my purpose is to endeavor to present to you such clear reasons that you will readily see, unless the "solid South" changes its political faith in the matter of protection, it is impossible for the northern, the western, and eastern voters to vote the Democratic ticket and not have their own and the country's best interest severely detrimented thereby.

The "Solid South" and Its Political Faith

Early Democratic Presidents and statesmen, including Thomas Jefferson, the great leader of the Democratic Party, were strong protectionists.

I give you herewith the records of all the Presidents, from George Washington (elected in 1789) to the present occupant of the White House, with the notations as to the political faith and tariff views of said Presidents and consequently the political faith of their cabinets and the statesmen surrounding them:

TABLE OF PRESIDENTS.

Table of United States Presidents

Elected in Year.		*Political party.*	*Tariff views.*
1789	George Washington	Federalist	Protectionist
1792	" "	"	"
1796	John Adams	"	"
1800	Thomas Jefferson	Democrat	"
1804	" "	"	"
1808	James Madison	"	"
1812	" "	"	"
1816	James Monroe	"	"
1820	" "	"	"
1824	John Quincy Adams	Federalist	"
1828	Andrew Jackson	Democrat	"
1832	" "	"	"
	Note.—Kindly note that every U. S. President previous to 1836 was a strong protectionist.		
1836	Martin Van Buren	Democrat	"Free Trade" Tariff for revenue only
1840	William Henry Harrison	Whig	Protectionist
1844	James K. Polk	Democrat	Free Trade; tariff for revenue only
1848	Zachary Taylor	Whig	Protectionist
1852	Franklin Pierce	Democrat	Free Trade; tariff for revenue only
1856	James Buchanan	"	Free Trade; tariff for revenue only
1860	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	Protectionist
1864	" "	"	"
1868	Ulysses S. Grant	"	"
1872	" "	"	"
1876	Rutherford B. Hayes	"	"
1880	James A. Garfield	"	"
1884	Grover Cleveland	Democrat	Tariff for revenue only
	Note.—House and Senate were Republican, so no detrimental Democratic legislation was passed.		
1888	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	Protectionist
1892	Grover Cleveland	Democrat	Tariff for revenue only
1896	William McKinley	Republican	Protectionist
1900	" "	"	"
1904	Theodore Roosevelt	"	"
1908	William H. Taft	"	"
1912	Woodrow Wilson	Democrat	Tariff for revenue only

All U. S. Presidents Previous to 1836 Were Protectionists, Including Democratic Presidents for Eight Terms

There have been 32 Presidential elections or administrations since our Government was formed in 1789. You will note from the preceding table this significant fact, that of the 32 Presidential terms,

25 were Protection Administrations
and only 7 were "Tariff for Revenue only" or "Free Trade."

As will be seen later, six of these "Tariff for Revenue Only" administrations were highly disastrous to industry and all our people, and the only reason the other administration (1884-1888) was not disastrous was because **both the Senate and House of Representatives were Republican, thereby preventing the theories of "Free-Trade" and "Tariff for Revenue Only" from being carried out.**

It will be seen from the above Table of Presidents that Martin Van Buren, elected in 1836, was the first Democratic President to espouse the doctrine of free trade, tariff-for-revenue-only and that "Protection is Unconstitutional," and that all Presidents preceding him, from Washington (1789), were strong Protectionists, including Thomas Jefferson (1800), the founder of democracy.

Democratic Party's Change from "Protection" to "Tariff for Revenue Only"

In order to show the causes which brought about the complete change within the Democratic Party, from strong protection to "free trade" and "tariff for revenue only," I give herewith, in table form, a record of the different tariff bills, with notations opposite each as to the condition of the country thereunder relative to prosperity and adversity, from the earliest tariff bill (1789) to the present tariff (1913):

TABLE OF TARIFFS.

The periods of depression are shown in red ink.

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
1783 to 1789	After winning our independence thru the Revolutionary War, we existed as a Confederacy known as the Union of Colonies. During this period we had absolute "free trade," as far as the Union of Colonies was concerned.	Exceedingly disastrous. Laborers idle. Debt and ruin on hand everywhere. This deplorable condition was one of the principal reasons for the call made by George Washington upon the States for a Commercial Conference which led to the adoption of the Constitution and the formation of the Government of the United States in 1787 and 1789.
First tariff bill, July 4, 1789. (U. S. Government formed in 1789.)	Specific and ad valorem rates.	This, the first U. S. Protective Tariff Act, was introduced by James Madison, *a Democrat*, who later became President, and was signed by George Washington, then President. The beneficial effects of this first tariff were seen at once in the industrial progress made in both agriculture and manufactures, in spite of attempts of the Mother Country to crush out the infant industries of the States.
Aug. 10, 1790	Specific and ad valorem rates.	These tariff bills were for strengthening specific articles, and did not materially change the general results, except by increase of rates on specific articles.
Mar. 3, 1791	This act only affected "spirits" paying specific duties.	
May 2, 1792	Specific and ad valorem rates.	
June 7, 1794	Specific and ad valorem rates.	
Jan. 29, 1795	This act affected only a few articles paying specific and ad valorem rates.	
Mar. 3, 1797	This act affected only a few articles paying specific and ad valorem rates.	
July 8, 1797	This act only affected salt, paying a specific duty.	
May 13, 1800	This act affected only a few articles paying specific and ad valorem rates.	

Principal Tariffs from 1789 to 1913, and Their Results

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
Mar. 26, 1804	This act, commonly called "Mediterranean fund," imposing an additional duty of 2½% in addition to the duties then imposed by law.	
Mar. 27, 1804	This act affected only a few articles paying specific rates.	
July 1, 1812	This act imposed double duties known as "war duties."	Nearly all importations ceased, partly due to the war of that period. Rapid progress and advance was made in all lines of industry. In spite of the hard times and stress upon our resources made necessary by the war with England, **WE MADE CONSTANT AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.**
July 29, 1813	This act only affected salt paying a specific duty.	
Feb. 5, 1816	This act continued the double duties to June 30, 1817.	
Apr. 27, 1816	Specific, minimum and ad valorem rates.	Here Congress, considering that they could repeal many of the war taxes and still have the rates remain sufficiently protective, made many reductions, but in this opinion they were mistaken. The duties in the new bill were not sufficiently high to keep out excessive imports and with the determination on the part of Great Britain to ruin our infant industries, the years following this tariff proved most disastrous. Bankruptcy and general financial ruin followed and the evils of low duties or free trade were most apparent.
Apr. 20, 1818	This act affected but few articles paying specific rates.	
Mar. 3, 1819	This act only affected "wines" paying specific rates.	

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
May 22, 1824	Specific, minimum, compound and ad valorem. First really entirely protective tariff.	The agitation for higher duties following the general bankruptcy, chaos and ruin of the low tariff rates became so earnest and insistent that in 1824 a new tariff law was passed which restored many duties to a protective point. These were augmented by further advances in 1828, all of the duties being advanced to a protective point. This gave our industries a new start and our agriculture great impetus. The effect was almost like magic, our industries and agriculture advanced by leaps and bounds and some of the former free-traders, including Daniel Webster, became most staunch advocates of protective tariff.
May 19, 1828	Known by its enemies and foreigners as the Tariff of Abominations. Specific, Minimum, Compound and ad valorem rates from 20% to 50%.	
May 24, 1828	This act only affected wines paying a specific rate.	
May 20, 1830	This act only affected coffee, tea, and cocoa paying specific rates, reducing the rates.	
May 29, 1830	This act only affected molasses paying specific rates.	
May 29, 1830	This act only affected salt paying specific rates.	
July 13, 1832	This act only affected "wines of France" paying specific rates.	
July 14, 1832	Specific, Minimum, Compound, ad valorem from 5% to 50%.	At this time the South was making persistent demands for lower tariff and this tariff was made with the idea of making concessions to meet, if possible, the demands from the Southern States.
Mar. 2, 1833	Compromise Act looking to a bi-annual reduction of all duties above 20%. Compromise Tariff to save the Union.	The concessions made in reduction in the previous tariff did not satisfy the Southern States and they threatened to secede from the Union. So in order to save the Union this Compromise Tariff was enacted. The result upon the country was most apparent and soon it suffered one of the most terrific and disastrous periods

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
		of its existence. The government and the people became almost bankrupt, idleness of labor existed everywhere and there was intense suffering among all classes of people. However, notwithstanding this condition of affairs, the Democratic National Platform of 1840 condemned protection and endorsed free trade.
Sep. 11, 1841	Specific and ad valorem from 12½% to 20%.	
Aug. 30, 1842	Specific, Minimum, Compound, ad valorem, from 1% to 50%.	This was a protective tariff passed by the Whig Party. President Harrison died and Vice-President Tyler, becoming President, vetoed the bill, but Congress passed it over his veto and the result of the return to protection was again marvelous, and soon prosperity reigned as never before.
July 30, 1846	Rates exclusively ad valorem arranged by schedule with large decreases in tariff rates.	The Democratic Party having come into power and obtained the executive and legislative functions of the government passed this bill (the Walker Law or Tariff of 1846). For a certain period under this law the detrimental effects were not apparent, owing to special circumstances, but very quickly, however, when these unusual causes ceased, the law proved most ruinous and disastrous to all our industries. But in spite of the increasing poverty a new and lower tariff bill was passed on March 3, 1857, when bankruptcy and ruin came swift and sure, resulting in the panic of 1857, considered by many the most disastrous panic the country has ever seen, and it certainly was previous to 1857.
Mar. 3, 1857	Exclusively ad valorem arranged by schedule and rates still further reduced.	
Mar. 2, 1861	Went into effect April 12, 1861. The first Republican tariff for revenue and protection, tending to afford protection to our labor and industries.	This tariff was known as "The Morrill Tariff," and the beneficial results of same were immediately felt and subsequently other war tariff bills were passed to raise revenues, so that the period of protection existed from this date to 1894.

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
		The impetus given to industry and agriculture by these protective rates of the Republican administrations from 1861 to 1894 was the means of building up the U. S. to the point of becoming the greatest industrial and agricultural nation in the world.
Aug. 5, 1861	First of the war tariffs. Large increase in duties.	
Dec. 24, 1861	Duties increased on sugar, tea and coffee.	
July 14, 1862	Went into effect Aug. 2, 1862, further increase of rates.	
Mar. 3, 1863		
Apr. 20, 1864	Bills changing and generally increasing duties.	
June 30, 1864		
June 5, 1865		
Mar. 15, 1866		
July 28, 1866		
Mar. 2, 1867	Rates increased on wool and woolens, giving great benefit to those industries.	
July 14, 1870	General changes—	
Dec. 20, 1870	free list largely reduced. Duty of $28 per ton on steel rails.	
May 1, 1872	Tea and coffee made free.	
June 6, 1872	Went into effect Aug. 1, 1872. Reduction of 10%. Increased free list.	All the Republican party's tariffs for protection of industry, agriculture and labor. *During this period* (1861-1894) *the United States was built up from practically nothing to the greatest industrial and agricultural nation in the world.*
Feb. 8, 1873	Revised statute with slight and unimportant changes.	
June 22, 1874	Known as the "Little Tariff Bill." General changes.	
Mar. 3, 1875	Rates increased on sugar. Repeal of the 10% reduction Act of June 6, 1872.	
July 1, 1879	Quinine made free.	
July 14, 1880	A few unimportant changes.	
May 6, 1882	Repeals discrimin-	
Dec. 3, 1882	ating duty.	

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
Mar. 3, 1883	Went into effect July 1, 1883, known as the Tariff Commission Bill. General revision, reduction, and increase of free list. Severe blow to the wool industry.	
Oct. 1, 1890	Went into effect Oct. 6, 1890, known as the "McKinley Bill." Changes from ad valorem to specific rates, and enlarged free list. Sugar made free—a bounty substituted. Reciprocity Law.	
Aug. 27, 1894	Known as the Gorman - Wilson Bill. Became a law without the President's signature. General reduction of duties. Wool put on the free list. Practically all rates made ad valorem.	The results to industry, agriculture, transportation, banking and general business were the most disastrous ever known up to that period. It was estimated that during the 4 years of the life of this bill nearly 50% of the railroads were in the hands of receivers, as were some 30 odd per cent. of the national banks, and financial chaos and disaster were on every hand.
July 24, 1897	Known as the Dingley Bill, the most perfect and successful tariff law enacted up to this period. **Many compound and specific duties.**	This bill brought unprecedented prosperity. Industry, agriculture and the people flourished as never before. There was in 1907 a panic, which was known as the Wall Street panic. It was only of a few months' duration and was confined to financial centers. Industry and agriculture were in no way detrimentally affected.
Aug. 5, 1909	Known as the Payne Bill. Substantial reductions were made in some schedules, resulting in large increase in imports and revenues, many compound and specific duties.	This bill continued the prosperity of previous bills, and the high water mark of prosperity of the country was attained in 1912.

Period and date of Tariff Law.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Result on Industry, Agriculture and the people of the United States.*
Oct. 3, 1913	Known as the Underwood Bill—supposed to carry out the Democratic principle of "tariff for revenue only." Exclusively ad valorem rates, arranged by schedule.	It brought disaster to our industries and idleness to labor long before the European war broke out. Since that time it has brought an increase of importations for the fiscal years 1914, 1915 and 1916 of over $772,000,000 as compared with the imports under the Payne Bill for the fiscal years 1911, 1912, and 1913. Notwithstanding this increase in imports, the revenues have decreased for the same period over $230,000,000, and what wonder when the average duties for the month of June, 1916, under this bill, were only 8.09%, the lowest duties ever known in our history. Six months after the passage of this bill (October 3, 1913) soup kitchens were opened up in all our large cities. For the first time in the history of New York City the morgue was opened as a sleeping place for the unemployed and the labor unions estimated in February, 1914, that 4,000,000 people were out of employment. This, with short time, resulted in a loss of wages of $10,000,000 per day or $3,000,000,000 per year, resulting in low purchasing power all over the country. This period of disaster has been arrested by the war, but when the war is over, unless the tariff is changed, a return to this and a still worse condition is inevitable.

The periods of depression and panic are shown in red ink in the foregoing table. You will have seen that these periods of depression, disaster and panic are coincident with the periods of low tariff or "Tariff for Revenue Only," and semi-free-trade, and that they run consistently from 1789, when our government was formed, to the present time, viz.:

THE PERIODS OF DEPRESSION ARE SIMPLY A LIST OF DEMOCRATIC "TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY" LEGISLATION, AS WILL BE SEEN FROM THE FOLLOWING TABLE:

List of Low and "Tariff for Revenue Only" Tariff Bills

Period.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Remarks.*
1783-1789	Absolutely Free Trade Tariff.	Washington called conference of the States due to the terrible disaster caused by free trade. The outcome of this conference was the formation in 1789 of the Government of the United States. Bankruptcy and general financial ruin was almost everywhere.
1816-1820	Low tariff period after the War of 1812.	This is the period when Woodrow Wilson in his history of the American Republic states, as a truthful historian, *that protection was the remedy that cured the disaster of a low tariff.*
1833-1839	So-called "Compromise Tariff" of 1833, with reductions to endeavor to conciliate the South, which had threatened to secede.	These reductions were so heavy that they resulted in the country suffering the most disastrous financial depression in its existence.
1846-1857	So-called "Walker Tariff" of 1846, and the tariff of 1857. These were made in a further attempt to satisfy the Southern free traders.	Due to the Mexican war in 1848, and the Crimean war abroad, and the discovery of gold in California in 1849, the early years of this bill (just as we have war and blood-soaked prosperity today) were prosperous, but when these unusual causes disappeared the result was most disastrous to our people, and ruinous to our industries, but the culmination came in the still lower tariff of 1857, which was made to still further satisfy the South.
1894	So-called "Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill." Made extensive reductions and put wool on the free list.	Then occurred the greatest panic ever known to the American nation previous to that time. Bankruptcy and ruin were on every hand—the conditions of industry and agriculture were chaotic, and the agony of all the people was the most intense ever known in the history of the government.

Period.	*Kind of Tariff.*	*Remarks.*
		The memory of the panic of that time is still in the minds of most of the American people. Probably 50% of all the American railroads were in the hands of receivers and certainly 30% of the national banks were in the hands of receivers, and all industry, agriculture and labor were in the throes of financial agony.
1913	So-called "Underwood Bill."	1911 and 1912 were the most prosperous periods for labor, industry, and agriculture that the country has ever known previous to the outbreak of the European war on August 1st, 1914. Notwithstanding this great prosperity, six months after the passage of the "Underwood Bill" on October 3, 1914, soup kitchens for the unemployed were opened up in all our large cities. For the first time in the history of New York City the Morgue was opened up at night for the unemployed to sleep in, and labor unions estimated that 4,000,000 people were out of employment to say nothing of those on short time, and if it were not for the outbreak of the European war and the prosperity which followed in its wake, due to munitions orders, etc., the disaster to American industry, agriculture, and all of our people would have been so far greater than any previous period of depression that the former experience would seem like a gentle zephyr as compared to a full-fledged tornado.

Consistently from 1789 to Date; a Return to a Protective Tariff Always Re-established Prosperity

We will also have seen from the table of tariffs that whenever the country returned to a protective tariff after these periods of depression, agriculture and industry received new impetus and great advancement was made.

There are only two periods from the formation of our government in 1789 to the present date when there were panic and disastrous conditions that are not directly chargeable to low tariffs. One of these periods was the depression of 1873, which was brought about by over-speculation. The speculation in stocks and land was so rampant that the values went up

to mountainous heights, and it was inevitable that a time of readjustment must arrive, which it did in 1873. The so-called panic of 1907 was entirely a financial panic, brought about by over-speculation in Wall Street. This panic, however, was confined entirely to financial institutions and to Wall Street, and the effect of it was not at all detrimental to agriculture or industry, so that it could not be considered as a panic in the sense that general disaster came to our industries, agriculture, or our people.

All of the Early Presidents and Thomas Jefferson (the great Democrat) Were EXTREME Protectionists

It will be seen from the above tables that the first two Presidents of the United States, George Washington and John Adams (1789-1800), were strong protectionists; that Thomas Jefferson, the first Democratic President and the founder and great leader of the Democratic party, who is considered by all Democrats as the embodiment of wisdom and statesmanship and a model for emulation by all, was an **extreme protectionist,** and while President of the United States, carried the doctrine of protection to the supreme point of severing all commerce with foreign nations, and who to the day of his death never forgave those who forced the repeal of the embargo.

It will also be seen from the tables of the Presidents that every Democratic President from Thomas Jefferson (1800) to and including Andrew Jackson (1832) was a strong protectionist, and in his famous message President Jackson strenuously supported the cause of protection to American industries.

When, How, and Why Did the Party Change to Tariff for Revenue Only

One of the declarations of the Democratic platform of 1912 and of previous platforms of that party was that "protection is unconstitutional." In view of the fact that history records, as shown above, that Washington and all the Presidents from him up to 1832, including Thomas Jefferson, the first Democratic President, and four Democratic Presidents that followed him up to 1836 are on record, over their own signatures, as being avowed protectionists, **when** and **how** and **why** did the Democratic party adopt its present policy that "protection is unconstitutional" and that a tariff for revenue only, or a low tariff, is a method of benefiting industry, labor and agriculture in this country? **HISTORY RECORDS THE DATE OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR PRESENT DOCTRINE AND THE REASON WHY,** as will shortly be seen.

Disaster of free-trade and low tariff during the formative periods of our government and thereafter right up to the present time.

Up to the time of the formation of our government (in 1787 and 1789) there were no general duties on imports, and, in short, we were living under absolute free trade, and foreign nations were able to place in our market, without restriction, every article which we were liable to buy. After we had secured our independence (through the Revolutionary War), we were united as a confederacy (1783 to 1789), existing as a union of colonies. The free trade of this period was accompanied by most disastrous results. The wares of foreign countries, particularly Great Britain, were dumped upon our shores, for which our money went abroad, until we were actually drained of all our specie and had hardly a dollar left in circulating mediums. Because the greater part of our goods came from abroad, our own laborers were idle and nothing but debt and ruin stared us in the face.

Disastrous Results of FREE TRADE— 1783 to 1789

This deplorable state of affairs was one of the principal causes which led to Washington making his call upon the states for a conference, which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, and of the formation of the Federal Government in 1789. You will see, therefore, that the main cause of the formation of the government of the United States was the agony brought upon the people and the country through free trade, and one of the first laws placed upon the statute books to remedy this condition was a tariff law intended not only as a means of revenue, but for encouraging the protection of manufacturers. This tariff act was introduced in Congress by James Madison, prominent Democrat, who afterwards became President, elected for two terms (1808 and 1812).

The beneficial effect of this protective tariff of 1789 was at once seen in the industrial progress which the country made, both in agriculture and manufactures, in spite of the attempts of the mother country to crush out every industry in the states.

Beneficial Results of Our First Protective Tariff Rates (1789)

From time to time this first tariff law was revised and strengthened by increases, and on July 1st, 1812 (during the war), a law was enacted imposing double duties, or what is known as a "war tariff." Nearly all importations now ceased, partly on account of the tariff, and partly due to the war, and rapid progress was made here in all lines of industry, in spite of the

Greater Beneficial Results from the Higher Tariff Rates of 1812

hard times and the great strain upon our resources made necessary by the war with England. For that day very large amounts of capital were then invested in our infant industries and prosperity reigned everywhere.

General Ruin and Disaster Due to Low Tariff Rates of 1816

In 1816 new and lower tariff rates were enacted, our Congress thinking that even with the repeal of many of the war taxes the tariff would still remain sufficiently protective, and hence they made many reductions, but they were mistaken. The reduced duties were not sufficiently high to keep out excessive importations, and with the determination on the part of Great Britain to throttle and ruin our growing industries, the eight years following this reduction in the tariff proved most disastrous. Bankruptcy and general financial ruin followed, values shrunk, and the evils of low duties or free trade were most apparent.

Prof. Woodrow Wilson Graphically Describes the Agony of the Times and States "The Remedy Was a Protective Tariff."

The evil effects of the conditions brought about by the low tariff at this period are graphically told by Woodrow Wilson in the third volume of his "History of the American People."

> "Peace changed the face of trade. English merchants poured their goods once again into the American ports, so long shut against them by embargoes and war. Manufactories had sprung up while the ports were closed. In the year 1815 close upon $50,000,000 had been invested in the manufacture of textile fabrics alone. The new movement did not stop with the establishment of cotton fabrics. The manufacture of wool and flax and hemp and even silk was added. Iron manufactures, long ago set up, but tentative and feeble hitherto, increased from hundreds of thousands to millions in value **under the stimulation of foreign trade cut off.** Almost everything in general use in the country was sooner or later added to the growing list.
>
> "Industry, long ago begun upon a small scale, took heart to grow, and those which Americans had hitherto not dreamed of attempting were heartily embarked upon. Distinct manufacturing regions began sensibly to develop in the Middle States and in the East, with interests and characteristics which statesmen could not afford to overlook. **It was manifestly injurious to every young industry that a flood of English imports should continue to pour into the country at the open ports. The remedy was a protective tariff,**

such as Mr. Hamilton had wished to see at first, and the young Republican leaders of Congress did not hesitate to advocate and establish it.

You will note that Professor Woodrow Wilson, as a truthful historian, states "the remedy was a protective tariff." Query, how does Professor Woodrow Wilson, as a truthful historian, reconcile this statement with his present attitude of 'Tariff for Revenue Only,' and 'Free Trade' and Protection is Unconstitutional.

Great Prosperity Followed the Return to Protective Rates 1824 and 1828

The agitation for higher duties (kindly bear in mind that the Presidency and Congress were controlled entirely by Democrats) became so earnest that in 1824 a new tariff law was passed which restored many duties to a protective point and gave our industries a new start and our agriculture great impetus.

The effect was almost like magic in all parts of the new and growing country, and so effective were the results that many of our statesmen, including Daniel Webster, who had previously been free-traders, became at once staunch advocates of a protective tariff.

This change of sentiment resulted in 1828 in a new tariff based upon specific, compound and ad valorem rates, averaging duties from 20% to 50%. This law was called by its enemies and foreigners a "Tariff of Abomination," but it proved to be a most beneficial law, because of its thoroughly protective features. Capital was invested in industry and agriculture, and our industries, particularly in the North, received an impetus unknown before in any previous period of our history.

Birth of Democratic Doctrine of Free Trade and "Tariff for Revenue Only"

Right at this time the Democratic party changed its colors from protection to the contrary, **and the doctrine of "free-trade" and "tariff for revenue only" was born.**

John C. Calhoun, the great statesman of that time, who in the early years had always been a protectionist, now believing that free-trade was better for the South, because he thought the South would always remain an agricultural country and would therefore benefit more by selling its one staple product, cotton, abroad as dear as possible, and buying manufactured goods abroad as cheap as possible, became an advocate of low tariffs. He was followed by his fellow-statesmen and the entire slave power of the South, **who saw the advantages which the North was gaining under the so-called American system of protection.**

John C. Calhoun and His Followers

The Southern leaders now saw that they could use the tariff as a means to further their own ends and

The Southern Leaders Now Demanded That the Protective System Be Utterly and Absolutely Abandoned

they demanded that the protective system be utterly and absolutely abandoned.

"Free-trade," "Tariff for Revenue Only," born on Southern soil in 1832,—born entirely of sectionalism and selfishness; no patriotism, no breadth, no vision of the great and coming industrial and agricultural future of our country for all sections, North, South, East and West, culminating today in the greatest industrial and agricultural nation on the face of the earth. Born with no realization that this country must always be maintained as one inseparable unit, and any system or law benefiting one section must of necessity benefit all sections.

Had the South in 1832, as they should have done, acquiesced to and then accepted the American system of protection as beneficial for the entire country, and put forth their energies to secure their share of this benefit, they would today be far in advance of their present industrial development, and there would have been no devastation, agony and human sacrifice of the War of the Rebellion.

Now that we have history to look back to, only a slight investigation will show how erroneous was the opinion of John C. Calhoun, and his fellow-statesmen, and the entire South, when they thought that the South would always remain an agricultural country and through selfish, sectional spirit, threatened in 1832 secession from the Union.

The following is a record of the South's production of cotton:

Production of Cotton in South 1830 to 1916

Year. Yearly.	Number of bales produced.	Year. Yearly.	Number of bales produced.
1830	732,218	1848	2,615,031
1831	805,439	1849	2,066,187
1832	815,900	1850	2,136,083
1833	930,962		
1834	962,343	Yearly average.	
1835	1,061,821	1851-1855	2,924,937
1836	1,129,016	1856-1860	3,598,676
1837	1,428,384	1861-1865	1,785,866
1838	1,092,980	1866-1870	2,607,371
1839	1,653,722	1871-1875	3,622,468
1840	1,347,640	1876-1880	5,036,215
1841	1,398,282	1881-1885	5,865,845
1842	2,035,481	1886-1890	7,231,521
1843	1,750,060	1891-1895	8,040,225
1844	2,078,910	1896-1900	10,152,934
1845	1,806,110	1901-1905	11,006,613
1846	1,603,763	1906-1910	12,175,867
1847	2,128,433	1911-1915	14,169,707

The following is the number of bales consumed by the cotton factories in the Southern States for the year ending July 31, 1916:

Consumption of Cotton in South, Year Ending July 31st, 1916

North Carolina	1,105,000	bales
South Carolina	930,000	"
Georgia	820,000	"
Alabama	345,000	"
Tennessee	123,000	"
Texas	70,000	"
Mississippi	37,000	"
Louisiana	32,000	"
Kentucky	30,000	"
Missouri	30,000	"
Arkansas	7,000	"
Oklahoma	6,000	"
Virginia and other states	512,000	"
Total	4,047,000	"

The South threatened to secede in 1832 (at that time they raised 815,900 bales of cotton) in order that they could sell their only staple product (cotton) abroad, principally to England, and buy foreign goods as cheaply as possible, based upon the erroneous assumption that the South **would never be an industrial center.**

Through the benefit and results of protective tariffs, in the years that have passed between then and now, and in spite of their own intention and prophecy,—

History Proves the Fallacy of the Southern Leaders' Threat of Secession in 1832 and Actual Secession in 1861 Because Lower Duties Were Not Granted

	Bales of Cotton.
The textile mills of one of the Southern States (North Carolina) consumed in the fiscal year ending July 31, 1916....	1,105,000
The mills of four principal industrial Southern States, namely, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, consumed for the same period.....	3,200,000
And the mills of the entire Southern States consumed, for the year ending July 31, 1916.....	4,047,000

As you will see, the present total consumption of cotton by the textile mills of the Southern States is nearly five times the quantity of cotton **that was raised in the entire South in 1832, the year the South first threatened secession from the Union.**

In the light of these significant figures, history has certainly proven the opinion of John C. Calhoun and the entire slave power of the South in 1832 (viz., that the South would always remain an agricultural country), to be absolutely erroneous.

The cause of secession and the war of the Rebellion primarily was due to the fact of the establishment by Congress of protective tariff rates in 1861,

and history has also proved the folly of said secession when the very cause thereof has in the meantime become the greatest asset of the South, viz.: protection (one of the primary causes of secession and the war of the Rebellion) has already built up the industries of the Southern States to a remarkable extent and will still further increase them if a protective tariff bill replaces, in 1917, the destructive Underwood tariff rates, and if protective tariff legislation is kept steadily on our statute books.

Consumption of Cotton in the North

The following is the consumption of American cotton of the entire textile mills of the North for the year ending July 31, 1916:

Massachusetts	1,274,297	bales
New Hampshire	282,157	"
New York	235,068	"
Rhode Island	234,014	"
Maine	188,751	"
Connecticut	124,755	"
New Jersey	42,590	"
Vermont	12,922	"
Total	2,394,554	"

So that the South today, through the operation of beneficial tariffs, put upon our statute books contrary to their wishes and against their protest, is actually consuming almost double what the North is consuming and the outlook for a much larger consumption in the South during the next few years is most promising.

Southern Manufacturers and Business Men

But thank God there is soon to be a new South and the delusion and fallacy of eighty-five years of "Free-trade" and "Tariff for Revenue Only" will soon disappear by and through the instrumentality of the manufacturers and business men of the South itself. They are at present the leaven which soon will leaven the whole loaf, and the South then will embrace protection as an economic truth for the upbuilding of the entire country, and for the great benefit to labor, industry, agriculture and all our people, North, South, East and West.

South's Threat of Secession Due to Protective Tariff Rates

In 1832, notwithstanding that Andrew Jackson, the great advocate of protection, was the Democratic President, some concessions were made to the Southern demands with a view of pacifying the Southern States, but these concessions were not satisfactory and the South demanded most important tariff reductions, and, if same were not granted, threatened to secede from the Union, in fact an ordinance of nulli-

fication was adopted in South Carolina, which declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were null, void and no law nor binding upon the State, its officers or citizens. It also prohibited the payment of duties under either act within the State after February 1st, 1833.

South Carolina's Actual Secession in 1832

Then followed, as a compromise to the South and to prevent secession, the so-called "Compromise Tariff," which provided for a gradual reduction in duties by a sliding scale of one-tenth bi-annually of all duties in excess of 20%.

"Compromise Tariff" in Effort to Save the Union

The disastrous result by this reduction was most apparent, and soon the country suffered one of the most terrible and disastrous financial periods in its history. Both the government and the people became almost bankrupt. There was idleness on every hand and most intense suffering among all classes of people.

Disaster by Reduction of Duties of Compromise Tariff

Fortunately, however, for our country and its people, the Whig party was successful in 1840, and elected William Henry Harrison, Protectionist, as President, and also elected both Houses of Congress. The result was the Tariff Bill of 1842, in which specific, compound, and ad valorem duties were imposed, ranging from 1% to 50%. President Harrison (Whig Protectionist) having died in the meantime, Vice-President John Tyler, of Virginia, became President, and he, being imbued with the free-trade ideas of the South, Congress was compelled to pass this tariff act over his veto.

The result of this tariff was simply marvelous. Throughout the entire land the beneficial results of protection were again seen and soon prosperity reigned as never before.

Prosperity Restored by Protection in 1842

The Democratic party came again into power four years later, in 1844, through the election of a Democratic President, James K. Polk, by a campaign of deception,—President Polk posing as a protectionist in Pennsylvania and the North, and as a free-trader in the South, and many of the voters believed that they were voting for a candidate who was not hostile to the industrial interests of the country.

James K. Polk's Campaign of Deception

To show the deception of the Democratic Presidential nominee (Mr. Polk) at that time, we quote the following instances:

Democratic Party Came Again into Power (1844) Through a Campaign of Deception

Mr. Polk, on retiring from Congress, ran for the Governorship of Tennessee, and as a candidate for that office, in 1843, he issued a circular

letter to the people of Tennessee, in which he stated his position on the tariff, as follows:

"I have steadily, during the period I was a Representative in Congress, been opposed to a protective policy, as my recorded vote and public speeches prove. Since I retired from Congress, I have held the same opinion. In the present canvass for Governor, I have avowed my opposition to the tariff act of the late Whig Congress, as being highly protective in its character, and not designed by its authors as a revenue measure."

While Mr. Polk was running for President, a letter was addressed to him by Judge Kane (Democrat, of Pennsylvania) in June, 1844, asking for his views on the tariff question. Mr. Polk replied in a letter which was published and widely circulated by the Democratic party throughout the Northern States. The expressed views of Mr. Polk in this letter were materially different from other communications intended for publication in the Southern States. Mr. Polk replied to Judge Kane, as follows:

"In adjusting the details of a revenue tariff, I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry. I am opposed to a tariff for protection, merely, and not for revenue. In my judgment, it is the duty of the government to extend as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation."

Read together Mr. Polk's circular letter of 1843 to the people of Tennessee and his letter of June, 1844, to the people of Pennsylvania and the North. The one solution to these diametrically opposite statements is "anything to catch votes." **In this respect he was not one whit worse than President Wilson and the Democratic party today.**

Woodrow Wilson's Campaign of Deception 1912

Speeches and statements were made by Mr. Wilson himself and by other leaders of the party, before the election of 1912, wherein they stated emphatically that labor would not be disturbed and that they believed in a tariff sufficient to equalize the difference between the lower wages paid abroad and the higher wages paid here. Then, directly after election, the

Underwood-Simmons Tariff Bill was the outcome, during the preparation of which, on the floor of the Senate and in the House of Representatives, it was reiterated again and again that no attention was paid, in assessing the duties in this bill,—to the lower wages paid abroad and the higher wages paid here. So that history repeats itself in the actions of James K. Polk, Democratic President (1844), and of the Democratic President and party of 1912.

Disaster Due to Democratic Low Tariff "Walker Bill"

On July 30th, 1846, during Polk's administration, the Democrats passed a new tariff bill known as "The Walker Bill," or the tariff of 1846. Not only were duties lowered below a protective point, but these duties in every instance were made ad valorem in character. There were certain circumstances both at home and abroad which gave moderate prosperity under this bill, viz., the Mexican war of 1848, the discovery of gold in California, 1849, and the Crimean war abroad which started in 1853, involving France, England, Turkey and Russia. Then, as now, war intervened and by temporarily setting aside the detrimental results of the normal operation of the Democratic tariff bill, brought, while the war lasted, a prosperity based solely on the blood-soaked slaughter of other fellow-beings. But when these unusual causes ceased, the law proved to be most ruinous and disastrous to all of our industries and our people.

Continuous Democratic Control of Congress from 1844 to 1860

From this time, up to 1860, the Democratic party was in full control of Congress and the executive, excepting the period of four years following the election of Zachary Taylor as President in 1848. President Taylor was a Whig and a staunch protectionist, as will be seen from his first annual message of December 24th, 1849. He was powerless, however, to obtain any relief, as the majority of both the House and Senate were Democratic, and his appeal to the patriotism of Congress

> "for the adoption of a system which may place home labor at least on a sure and permanent footing and by due encouragement of manufacturers, give a new and increasing stimulus to the manufacturer and promote the development of our vast resources and the extension of our commerce"

fell upon deaf ears.

From the Walker tariff rates of 1846, in spite of the increasing poverty of the country, the duties were still further reduced in 1857, being now exclusively ad

Tariff for Revenue Only Resulted in the Terrible Disaster and Panic of 1857

valorem and arranged by schedule. Then bankruptcy and ruin came swift and sure,—the panic of 1857 being one of the most severe and disastrous of any panic known to the American people up to that time. President Buchanan (Democrat) in his annual message to Congress, December 6th, 1858, vividly portrays the dire distress of the people and the disaster to industry and agriculture.

Buchanan's Second Annual Message, December 6, 1858.

President Buchanan's Message to Congress December 6th, 1858

"With all the elements of national wealth in abundance our manufactures were suspended, our useful public and private enterprises were arrested, and **thousands of laborers were deprived of employment and reduced to want. Universal distress prevailed among the commercial, manufacturing and mechanical classes.** . . . All were experiencing sad reverses at the same moment, our manufacturers everywhere suffered severely—**not because of the recent reduction in the tariff of duties on imports, but because there was no demand at any price for their productions.**"

Isn't it marvelous that at each and every period of Democratic "Tariff for Revenue Only," "Semi-Free Trade," etc., the same occurrence takes place, and that President Buchanan's **words become painfully true: "there was no demand at any price for their productions."**

No work, industries closed, no one with any money with which to buy, so as President Buchanan says, **"there was no demand at any price for their productions."**

These words of the Democratic President who was at the time the chief executive of the nation are a whole sermon of themselves in proof of the benefits of protection.

Just so it was after the Democratic Tariff Bills of

1816 Woodrow Wilson describes in his history the great distress of that time and states **"the remedy was a protective tariff."**

1833 Chaos and disaster.

1846 War-prosperity for a few years and then great disaster.

1857 Buchanan's Period as described.

1894 Coxie's Army marched to Washington with their placards, "We want **no charity** —we want work."

1914 Honest workmen sleeping in the morgue, no work, and consequently **"at no price could they buy,"** having no money with which to buy.

In other words, "Tariff for revenue only," "Semi-free trade," etc., are such fallacies that their normal operation always causes disaster to our industries and agriculture, and distress and agony to our people. The only time that prosperity can come to us during such periods is when war arrives (and this has been proven by the record of all Democratic tariff bills from 1789 to 1913), thereby establishing in effect **similar conditions and results as would be the outcome under a protective tariff.**

Peter Cooper's Description of the Distress and Deplorable Existing Conditions

Peter Cooper, describing conditions at the time, said:

> "British iron and cloth came in and gold went out, and with each successive day the dependance of our farmers on foreign markets became more complete. With 1857 came the culmination of the system: merchants and manufacturers being ruined, banks being compelled to suspend payment, and the Treasury being reduced to a condition of bankruptcy nearly approaching that which had existed at the close of the 'Free trade period' of 1817 and 1839. The distress was universal and deplorable in the extreme."

President Buchanan's Address to Congress Dec. 14, 1860

President Buchanan described the situation in his message of December 14th, 1860, in the following language:

> "Panic and distress of a fearful character prevailed throughout the land. Our laboring population is without employment and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread. **Indeed, all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men."**

"Indeed All Hope Seems to Have Deserted the Minds of Men"

Certainly this was a most deplorable ending of a period of purely sectional politics, "Tariff for revenue only," and the trial of a sectional tariff law. **The Democratic Party took control of the government at a time when the nation was enjoying an amazing period of prosperity and business expansion. The test of the free trade policy was made under the most favorable conditions possible, and proved a complete and dismal failure.**

Dismal Failure of Sectional Politics as Applied by "Tariff for Revenue Only"

Finally, President Buchanan, who was a rank free-trader, and continuously advocating low tariff from the time of his election in 1856—knowing the disaster

Democratic President Buchanan Almost Persuaded to Be A Protectionist

and agony that had been continuously with the country from 1842 to that time—turned near enough to a protectionist to state that "both to protect the revenue and to secure to our manufacturing interests that amount of incidental encouragement, which inevitably results from a revenue tariff" the tariff rates should be increased. This he recommended in his last message to Congress, and he also recommended specific instead of ad valorem duties, as follows:

FROM PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE OF DECEMBER 3rd, 1860

Democratic President Buchanan in Address to Congress Dec. 3, 1860 Recommends Protection

> "It is now quite evident that the financial necessities of the government will require a modification of the tariff during your present session for the purpose of increasing the revenue. In this aspect I desire to reiterate the recommendation contained in my last two annual messages in favor of **imposing specific instead of ad valorem duties** on all imported articles to which those can be properly applied. From long observation and experience I am convinced that specific duties are necessary, **both to protect the revenue and to secure to our manufacturing interests that amount of incidental encouragement which unavoidably results from a revenue tariff.**
>
> "It is stated by our statisticians that between 1846 and 1860 not a single new competitive industry was established in the United States."

Ruin and Disaster Due to 14 Years of "Tariff for Revenue Only"

Ruin and disaster were on hand everywhere, owing to Democratic domination of the Presidency and Congress for fourteen years and the continuous application of the principles of "Tariff for revenue only" and "Free Trade."

Truly it was more than high time a new Constructive Party was born.

Birth of the Republican Party

In 1860 the Republican party, as a new political party, came into power. Having a majority in the House of Representatives, a thoroughly protective bill was passed, known as "The Morrill Tariff," and when the Southern Senators resigned their seats, it also passed the Senate, and President Buchanan signed it on March 2nd, 1861, just two days before Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office.

As was the case after protracted depression under low tariff and free-trade in 1816 and 1833, the benefits of the new protective tariff bill passed March 2nd, 1861, were immediate and substantial. After the

breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, the tariff was amended repeatedly by so-called war measures and from that period to the present, barring two periods of four years each (1894 and 1912), the nation has had on the statute books **protective tariff legislation,** which has built up this great country to its present high level.

First Protective Tariff of the Republican Party Restored Again Prosperity (1861)

The Republican Party, through its policy of protection, may well be proud of its great achievement during the past fifty-six years. From the chaos and disaster described by the Democratic President Buchanan in 1860, this nation has been built up (barring two periods of four years each in 1894 and 1912), under continuous Republican control, **from almost nothing to the greatest industrial, agricultural, and commercial nation on the face of the earth, with a standard of wages and a standard of living unheard of in any other country in the world.**

Since 1860 the two periods in which the Democratic Party had control of both the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government were under President Grover Cleveland (1892 to 1896) and President Woodrow Wilson (1912 to 1916).

President Grover Cleveland 1892 to 1896

President Cleveland had served notice upon employers that protection was to be destroyed and that wages must be reduced. He had warned importers to cease importing until duties were lowered, and wholesale and retail merchants not to buy American manufactures, but rather to wait until the agents of foreigners appeared to solicit their orders. This was the plain effect of what Mr. Cleveland said in his inaugural address, and what the people understood him to say.

Nine days after Mr. Cleveland's election, the New York Commercial Bulletin, a free-trade journal, informed American workingmen that **"labor may be expected to yield its quota of concession,"** and that **"those who have taught workingmen that a reduction of the tariff does not mean a relative reduction of wages have adulterated a great reform with a very paradoxical doctrine."**

Distress and Agony 1892 to 1896 Under Wilson-Gorman Bill

Within a year from the passage (August 27, 1894) of the Wilson-Gorman "Tariff for Revenue Only" bill, it seemed as though all industry was paralyzed, and millions of honest, sincere workmen were walking the streets seeking employment in vain, and distress and financial agony were on most of our people. Coxie's Army marched on to Washington with placards, "We

don't want charity—we want work." Some fifty per cent. of our railroads and thirty per cent. of our National Banks were in the hands of receivers. After having experienced four years (1892 to 1896) of normal results from the "Tariff for revenue only" **(no great European war then to give us war prosperity) the people to a unit were through with it at any cost.** Even the Democratic platform of 1896 was as silent as a tombstone as to "Tariff for revenue only." To have mentioned the subject at all would have been like waving a red flag before an enraged bull. The Democratic platform of 1896 adopted, however, in one of its planks, the free coinage of silver, on a basis of "16 to 1." Peculiar that the Democratic Party is always a party of free everything;

Free Labor
Free Trade
Free Silver

Free Labor Free Trade Free Silver Free Everything in Theory, But?

Free everything in **theory,** but in **fact** no employment, no money! Distress of mind and body.

In 1896 all the American people were completely through with the fallacies of "Free-trade" and "Tariff for Revenue Only." The distress and agony of those fearful four years had taught them its bitter lessons. It took a new generation and a great split in the Republican party to put the Democratic party in power again in 1912.

History Was Repeating Itself Again in Disaster, Ruin and Distress, with the Underwood Tariff, when War Intervened

As set forth in the beginning of this article, from the splendid prosperity of 1912 within six months after the passage (October 3, 1913) of the "Tariff for revenue only" Underwood Bill, soup kitchens were opened in all the large industrial cities, to feed on charity the unemployed. The morgue was opened in New York City to keep the unemployed from freezing to death. Labor leaders estimated that in the winter of 1914, 4,000,000 (four million) people were out of employment, resulting, with short time, in a loss of wages of $10,000,000 (ten million dollars) per day, or $3,000,000,000 (three billion dollars) per annum, and low purchasing power the inevitable partner of poor business, produced hard times, disaster and ruin to industry, and distress and agony to our people.

Again (as in 1816, 1839, 1846, 1857 and 1894) Democratic times were just the same as Democratic President Buchanan described in 1860 as—

"No demand at any price for their productions." Answer: the workmen of the country, having no work, **had nothing with which to buy.**

The War and War Prosperity

The great disastrous European War came upon the world August 1, 1914. The effect of this war was (as it was also in 1848-1853 under the Democratic Walker Tariff Bill) to suspend—for the period of the war—the detrimental normal operating effects of the Underwood tariff rates. After August 1, 1914, all Europe needed from us the sinews with which not only to carry on the terrible war, but with which to feed and clothe their great armies, transferred from industry and the field to the fighting front, and those who between October 3, 1913, and August 1, 1914, were our competitors, eagerly taking advantage of the lowest tariff rates in our American history (a trifle over 8% for June, 1916, and 9.72% for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916), became our feverish customers, buying our products in huge quantities at any price, and turning our steadily adverse trade balances for the period between October 3, 1913, to August 1, 1914, to immense favorable trade balances of 1915 and 1916.

War Prosperity Only

Entirely war prosperity at the awful cost of blood-soaked humanity and certainly nothing to boast of.

We will analyze our exports to determine whether or not they are brought about by the horrors of war or the elements of peace:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EXPORTS

Comparative Table of Exports Showing the Huge Increase of War Articles

Article.	*Before the War, 11 months ending May 30, 1914.*	*During the War, 11 months ending May 30, 1916.*	*Percentage of increase.*
Aeroplanes	$188,559	$6,709,883	3458%
Alcohol	64,439	6,954,315	10692%
Automobiles	24,583,635	91,954,466	274%
Barbed wire	3,698,770	21,253,657	475%
Brass	6,842,434	132,009,153	1830%
Boots and shoes	16,617,829	43,786,859	164%
Bread stuffs	151,939,206	407,998,746	234%
Cars and carts	6,914,217	21,987,933	218%
Corn (included in bread stuffs)	6,283,264	27,023,371	330%
Explosives	5,877,915	414,655,383	6954%
Harness and saddlery	721,893	5,226,923	624%
Meat products	132,686,390	242,371,169	83%
Metal-working machinery	12,931,549	52,849,047	335%
Miscellaneous iron and steel	16,783,664	120,107,054	616%
Rails	9,893,022	15,957,637	171%
Manufactured wool	4,367,771	50,883,822	1065%
Zinc, spelter and manufactured	369,667	40,563,710	10883%
Horses	3,221,557	69,008,116	2042%
Mules	652,721	21,121,410	3136%

SOME INCREASES

These Figures and Percentages Speak for Themselves

These figures and percentages speak for themselves:

Explosives	from	$ 5,800,000 to	$ 414,600,000; increase	6954%
Brass	"	6,800,000 to	132,000,000; increase	1830%
Misc. iron and steel	"	16,700,000 to	120,100,000; increase	616%
Zinc, etc.	"	369,000 to	40,000,000; increase	10823%
Alcohol	"	64,000 to	6,900,000; increase	10692%
Horses	"	3,200,000 to	69,000,000; increase	2042%
Mules	"	652,000 to	21,000,000; increase	3136%

All evidence of horrible, hellish war; and when the war is over they will return again to normal quantities. **Agricultural implements, sewing machines, etc., articles of known use** in peaceful pursuits, declined the first year of the war **as compared with the year just previous thereto to the huge extent of over $100,000,000.**

Merchandise of Known Use to Peaceful Pursuits Greatly Declined

The balance of trade was against us the last few months before the war, caused by the operation of the Underwood Tariff, and according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, over $150,000,000 of gold had been exported to make up that balance of trade. Since the war began, the yellow tide has flowed our way, and because of these vast war exports, over $700,000,000 in gold has been poured through our ports into our channels of trade, and yet this is but a part payment of the vast indebtedness created by our tremendous exports.

War prosperity and in full measure. Still we had the same thing under the Democratic "Tariff for revenue only" (Walker Bill and Tariff of 1857), and when the war was over, **chaos, ruin, disaster** and **despair.**

Democratic Conditions Now Similar to Conditions During Period of Walker Bill and Tariff of 1857. Then Foreign War, Now Foreign War. Then Prosperity While the War Lasted, Now

The agony of that time is vividly portrayed by Democratic President Buchanan in his public addresses **of December 6, 1858:**

> that the disaster to industry and the people was **"not because of the recent reductions in the tariff of duties on imports, but because there was no demand at any price for their productions."**

and December 14, 1860:

> "Panic and distress of a fearful character prevail throughout the land. Our laboring population is without employment and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread. **Indeed, all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men."**

Prosperity. Then Distress and Agony After the War Was Over, Now We Predict Same Distress and Agony When the Present War Is Over.

The Underwood tariff brought to labor and industry financial despair before the war, and when the great war is over (as it will be in 1917), unless the Underwood tariff is repealed (and higher duty rates established in its stead) its lowest average rates of duties in American history, lower to-day than either France, Germany, Russia, Italy, or even free-trade England, will plunge this nation into industrial and commercial despair and panic hitherto unknown in our history, not even excepting the period described by Democratic President Buchanan in his message when he says, "indeed, all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men."

Advisedly, I wish to make this startling statement, viz.: that at no period since the birth in the South, in 1832, of "free trade," "Tariff for revenue only," etc., when these erroneous theories have been carried out in Democratic legislation, has there been anything but disaster and ruin to our industries, and distress and agony to our people, except when the horrible spectre of war has intervened and set aside the normal operating functions of their tariff bill rates, viz.: during part of the operation of the Walker Bill and tariff of 1857 and at the present time under the Underwood Bill.

In effect war practically makes the results obtained by protection, hence during war we have prosperity, even under Democratic dispensation.

"Tariff For Revenue Only" A Great Mistake In 1832 But Suicidal Now

You have seen from the foregoing tables and from the previous remarks that every President from Washington (1789) to and including Andrew Jackson (1832), and the Democratic Presidents elected for eight terms (from 1800 to 1832) were staunch protectionists and that the doctrine of free-trade and tariff for revenue only was born about 1832 when John C. Calhoun and his fellow statesmen, followed by the entire slave power of the South, became jealous of the growing prosperity of the North, due to the American system of protection, and believing that the South would always remain an agricultural country, thought that the South would benefit more by selling its one staple product, cotton, abroad as dearly as possible and buying its manufactured goods abroad as cheaply as possible. This may have been, from a sectional standpoint, of temporary advantage to the South, but from a patriotic standpoint the South, as well as all patriots, should have stood by the country and had they done so the South of today would be immensely more prosperous and teeming with industrial life.

Notwithstanding that in 1832 and 1850 it may have been, for a slight period, of advantage to this one section of the country, namely, the South, to have a low tariff, even for them it would not have remained so for a considerable number of years. But now, after the development of this country to its present great extent,—without doubt the greatest industrial and agricultural country in the world,—having at the same time the highest standard of wages and the highest standard of living known in the world, free-trade and tariff for revenue only are **absolutely suicidal, whether it be for the South, for the North, for the East, or for the West.**

Free-Trade England Now Protectionist England

England now a protectionist country.

It has taken "free-trade" England 100 years and a great war to discover that free-trade is a fallacy. At last the only great bulwark of free-trade is broken down and "free-trade England" becomes "Protectionist England."

The death-knell of English free-trade and "tariff for revenue only" was sounded when Reginald McKenna, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, recently said:

England's Future Lies In Production From Its Own Soil and Factories

> "The experience of the war has shown that the strength and sarety of the British nation in time of peril lies in the possession by this nation of the power to produce its requirements from its own soil and its own factories, rather than in the possession of values which may be exported and exchanged for products and manufactures of foreign countries."

In view of England's complete abandonment of free-trade and tariff for revenue only, the writings of some of our early Presidents (many of them Democrats) and of some of our leading men, from 1789 to 1900, are most apt and interesting.

Writings of Early Presidents

1. George Washington (letter to LaFayette):

> "However unimportant America may be considered at present, and however Britain may effect to despise her trade, there will assuredly come a day when this country will have some weight in the scale of empires."

Alexander Hamilton's Great Truths

2. Alexander Hamilton:

> **"Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufacturers."**

Note.—Almost the identical thought as expressed one hundred years later by the Chancellor of the British Exchequer. It took England one hundred years and a great war to learn what the young American protectionists knew in 1800.

3. Thomas Jefferson (message 1802):

Thomas Jefferson, Democratic President

"To cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation, to foster our fisheries, and **protect manufactures** adapted to our circumstances, etc., are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all our relations."

4. James Madison (letter to Joseph C. Cabell, Sept. 18th, 1828):

James Madison, Democratic President

"The meaning of the phrase, 'To Regulate Trade,' must be sought in the general use of it; in other words, in the objects to which the power was generally understood to be applicable, when the phrase was inserted in the Constitution.

"The power has been understood and used by all commercial and manufacturing nations, as embracing the object of **encouraging manufactures.** It is believed that not a single exception can be named."

James Monroe (Message December 2, 1817)

James Monroe, Democratic President

"Our manufactories will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge required in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. **Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation."**

5. Daniel Webster:

Daniel Webster

"That is the truest American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor, and best sustain the whole population. **Agriculture, commerce and manufactures will prosper together or languish together."**

6. Henry Clay (speech before Congress, 1842):

Henry Clay

"The greatest want of civilized society is the market for the exchange and sale of its surplus produce. This market may exist at home or abroad, but it must exist somewhere if society prospers. **The home market** is first in order and paramount in importance."

7. Mathew Carey:

Mathew Carey

"If there be any one truth in political economy more sacred and irrefragible than another, it is, that the prosperity of nations bears an exact pro-

portion **to the encouragement of their domestic industry** and that their decay and decrepitude commences and proceeds pari passu with their neglect of it."

Henry C. Carey

8. Henry C. Carey:

"Manufactures are at once an evidence and a measure of civilization."

Great Expression Backed by Facts

9. Abraham Lincoln:

"I do not know much about the tariff, but I know this much, when we buy **manufactured goods abroad,** we get the goods and the foreigner gets the money. When we buy the **manufactured goods at home** we get both the goods and the money."

Abraham Lincoln

10. James G. Blaine:

James G. Blaine

"The benefits of **protection** go, first and last, to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces."

11. William McKinley:

William McKinley

"We lead all nations in agriculture; we lead all nations in mining; **we lead all nations in manufacturing.** These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a protective tariff."

Statesmen of the World Embrace Protection

The statesmen of the entire civilized world, including those of free-trade England,—**excepting the Democratic party in America, mainly composed of Democrats from our Southern States,—proclaim, as did our early Presidents, that—**

The strength and prosperity of a nation lies in protection for the building up of industry and agriculture within its own borders and in its own factories and from its own soil rather than in values which may be exported and exchanged for products and manufactures of foreign nations.

All Principal Foreign Nations, Including Former Free-Trade England, Now Endorse Protection

The foreign nations (other than England), have known this for a long time, but it took England 100 years and a great war to open her eyes to the fallacy of "free-trade" and "Tariff for Revenue Only."

As we have seen in the foregoing the doctrine of "free-trade" and "tariff for revenue only" started in the South about 1832. It may take our Southern politicians, our theoretical professors and our professional classes also 100 years to see this great light **which is now apparent to all civilized nations of the earth.**

When the South adopted the doctrine of "free-trade" and "tariff for revenue only," as stated before, it may have been to their sectional advantage and may have continued so for a few years. However, had they been patriotic citizens as all citizens of a free country like ours should be, they would have been willing that the American system of protection should build up the North, and they should have "put their hands to the plow" and obtained industries and manufactures for the South, and if this had been done there would have been no War of the Rebellion, they would have blossomed like the rose, and the South today would be fifty or more years advanced over its present condition in industry and agriculture.

South Made Grave Mistake in 1832 and 1861, and is Also Making Grave Mistakes Now

As a matter of fact, the South has far greater possibilities for industrial development than the North or the East. It has great water power, far greater than the North and East, owing to the mountains being nearer the sea. It has a climate and soil that can sustain life better and cheaper than any section of the North, and therefore with the same amount of energy of necessity the development in industry must be proportionately greater than anywhere else in the United States.

RECAPITULATION.

Recapitulation

We have seen that the Democratic Underwood-Simmons tariff bill has proven itself to be one of the most disastrous pieces of legislation ever placed upon our statute books; resulting, in the three years of its existence, 1914, 1915 and 1916, in importations in excess of those of 1911, 1912 and 1913 (Republican Payne rates) to the tremendous extent of over $772,000,000, and at the same time resulted in a great decrease of custom duties collected of over $230,000,000; due to the lowest customs rates ever known in our history, viz., an average of a trifle over 8% for June, 1916, and an average of $9\frac{72}{100}\%$ for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, resulting (up to the outbreak of the European war, August 1, 1914) in disaster to our industries and great distress to our workmen (4,000,000 unemployed in the winter of 1914) and all our people. The war interrupted this disaster and distress, but when the war is over (particularly so, in view of the titanic combination of twelve nations of Europe existing for the expressed purpose of accomplishing the industrial domination of the world), if the low Underwood tariff rates are still in existence, same inevitably must result in the greatest depression

in our industry and distress and financial agony to our workmen and people ever known in our history. It will probably be so much greater in intensity that all former depressions will seem like mere echoes of the great reality.

We have also seen that labor and the labor union officials are a unit in their expression of fear that the results will be such as above depicted and such that it will result in

> "forcing upon the industries of this country **a foreign competition with which it will be impossible to cope."**

We have also noted that the governments of Europe,—particularly England, France and Germany,—invite the constructive business men to enter their governments and politics, which has acted in obtaining for these countries, in accordance with their opportunities, the greatest possible results for their commerce, industry and agriculture. The American people must also,—if they would also obtain for us the best results,—place more of the constructive business men, merchants and manufacturers, in our high political and governmental positions of trust.

We have also seen that all our early Presidents from Washington (1789) to and including Andrew Jackson (1832) were **strong protectionists,** also that the Democratic party and early Democratic Presidents from 1800 to 1832, including Thomas Jefferson, the founder of Democracy and its great leader, were **strong protectionists.** That "tariff for revenue only," free-trade, etc., were born in 1832 in the Southern States because they were unwilling that the North and West should prosper by the American system of protection; they erroneously expected to always remain an agricultural people.

We have seen that persistently since the formation of our government in 1789 to the present time, disaster, ruin and distress always followed in the wake of "semi-free-trade," "tariff for revenue only" and low tariff legislation, excepting in those short periods of prosperity referred to which resulted in an entire change of conditions due to war, notably the disastrous periods of

1783 to 1789.
1816 to 1822.
1833 to 1840.
1846 to 1860.
1894 to 1896.
1913 to 1915.

We have also seen that after these great depressions due to low tariff rates a return to protective rates invariably restored prosperity, and that this nation was built up practically from nothing, during the period from 1861 to 1913 (excepting four years, 1892 to 1896) by the policy of protection unto the greatest industrial, agricultural and commercial nation on the face of the earth.

We have seen that "Free-trade England" has now become "Protectionist England" and that the whole civilized world today (excepting a few of our Southern States) have embraced, for beneficial results, the doctrine of protection. But just as former free-trade England has now become "Protectionist England," so will shortly our Southern States also embrace the doctrine of protection.

The South, like England, will soon be Protectionist.

The South Will Also Embrace Protection And Will Then Become Greater and Greater In the Years to Come

The Southern politician has clung to the fallacy of sixty years ago of "free-trade" and "tariff for revenue only," and the Democratic party has been able only twice in fifty-five years to capture the Presidency and Congress, and then mainly through the aid of the professional classes of the North, but there is now a great awakening going on in the South. With the development of industry the manufacturers and business men of that section of the country are assuming yearly greater importance both in domestic and political life, and this element in the South will soon be so powerful that they, thoroughly believing in and embracing the same, will insist upon protection for their rapidly-growing industries and agriculture, and then the old fallacy of "free-trade" will disappear also from the South, with the same suddenness as it has from England. As it has taken England nearly 100 years to change from free-trade to protection, so will the Southern States within 100 years from the birth of the doctrine of "free-trade" in the South (namely, previous to 1932, or within 16 years from now) become strong protectionist and thereby embrace the protective tariff doctrine of the whole civilized world of today, including former free-trade England. **Then we will have in this great country of ours one people, united under one great purpose of welfare for all,—and with protection for American labor, for American industry, for American agriculture and protection to sustain the American standard of living for all our people; the highest standard of living that the world**

One Great United People With One Universal Purpose, Protection for the Benefit of All

has ever seen. No longer any sectional or personal interests, but one United Republic, North, South, East and West, welded together with one solid purpose, Protection For The Benefit Of All.

APPENDIX A.

Economic Conference of the Allied Governments and their signed agreement for combination between them for the industrial and commercial domination of the world.

The representatives of the allied governments have met in Paris, Mr. Clémentel, Minister of Commerce, presiding, on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June, 1916, for the purpose of fulfilling the mandate which was confided to them by the conference of Paris on March 28, 1916, to put into practice their solidarity of views and interests and to propose to their respective governments suitable measures for realizing this solidarity.

They perceive that the Central Powers of Europe, after having imposed upon them their military struggle in spite of all their efforts to avoid the conflict, are preparing today, in concert with their allies, a struggle in the economic domain which will not only survive the reestablishment of peace but, at that very moment, will assume all its amplitude and all its intensity.

They cannot, in consequence, conceal from themselves that the agreement which is being prepared for this purpose amongst their enemies has for its evident object the establishment of their domination over the production and the markets of the whole world and to impose upon the other countries an inacceptable hegemony.

In the face of such a grave danger the representatives of the allied governments consider that it is their duty, on the grounds of necessary and legitimate defense, to take and realize from now onward all the measures requisite on the one hand to secure for themselves and the whole of the markets of neutral countries full economic independence and respect for sound commercial practice, and on the other to facilitate the organization on a permanent basis of this economic alliance. For this purpose the representatives of the Allied Governments have decided to submit for the approval of their governments the following resolutions:

A. Measures for War Period.

I. Laws and regulations prohibiting trading with the enemy shall be brought into accord, for this purpose:

(a) The allies will prohibit their own subjects and citizens and all persons residing in their territories from carrying on any trade with the inhabitants of enemy countries of whatever nationality, or with enemy subjects, wherever resident, persons, firms, and companies whose business is controlled wholly or partially by enemy subjects or subject to enemy influences, whose names will be included in a special list.

(b) The allies will also prohibit importation into their territories of all goods originating or coming from enemy countries.

(c) The allies will further devise means of establishing a system of enabling contracts entered into with enemy subjects and injurious to national interests to be cancelled unconditionally.

II. Business undertakings, owned or operated by enemy subjects in the territories of the allies, are all to be sequestrated or placed under control. Measures will be taken for the purpose of winding up some of these undertakings and realizing the assets, the proceeds of such realizations remaining sequestrated or under control. In addition, by export prohibitions, which are necessitated by the internal situation of each of the allied countries, the allies will complete the measures already taken for the restriction of enemy supplies both in the mother countries and the dominions, colonies, and protectorates—

1. By unifying lists of contraband and export prohibition, particularly by prohibiting the export of all commodities declared absolute or conditional contraband;

2. By making the grant of licenses to export to neutral countries, from which export to the enemy territories might take place, conditional upon the existence in such countries of control organizations approved by the allies, or, in the absence of such organizations, upon special guarantees, such as the limitation of the quantities to be exported and supervision by allied consular offices, etc.

B. Transitory Measures for the Period of the Commercial, Industrial, Agricultural, and Maritime Reconstruction of the Allied Countries.

I. The allies declare their common determination to insure the reestablishment of the countries suffering from acts of destruction, spoliation, and unjust

requisition, and they decide to join in devising means to secure the restoration to those countries, as a prior claim, of their raw materials, industrial, agricultural plant and stock, and mercantile fleet, or to assist them to reequip themselves in these respects.

II. Whereas the war has put an end to all treaties of commerce between the allies and enemy powers, and it is of essential importance that during the period of economic reconstruction the liberty of none of the allies should be hampered by any claim put forward by enemy powers to most-favored-nation treatment, the allies agree that the benefit of this treatment will not be granted to those powers during a number of years, to be fixed by mutual agreement among themselves.

During this number of years the allies undertake to assure each other, so far as possible, compensatory outlets for trade in case consequences detrimental to their commerce should result from the application of the undertaking referred to in the preceding clause.

III. The allies declare themselves agreed to conserve for the allied countries, before all others, their natural resources, during the whole period of the commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime reconstruction, and for this purpose they undertake to establish special arrangements to facilitate the interchange of these resources.

IV. In order to defend their commerce and industry and their agriculture and navigation against economic aggression, resulting from dumping or any other mode of unfair competition, the allies decide to fix by agreement a period of time during which commerce with the enemy powers will be submitted to special treatment, and goods originating from their countries will be subjected either to prohibitions or to a special régime of an effective character. The allies will determine by agreement, through diplomatic channels, the special conditions to be imposed during the above-mentioned period on the ships of enemy powers.

V. The allies will devise measures to be taken jointly or severally for preventing enemy subjects from exercising in their territories certain industries or professions which concern national defense or economic independence.

C. Permanent Measures of Mutual Assistance and Collaboration Among the Allies.

I. The allies decide to take the necessary steps without delay to render themselves independent of enemy countries in so far as regards raw materials and manufactured articles essential to the normal development of their economic activities. These measures will be directed to assuring the independence of the allies, not only so far as concerns sources of supply, but also as regards their financial, commercial, and maritime organization. The allies will adopt such measures as seem to them most suitable for the carrying out of this resolution according to the nature of the commodities and having regard to the principles which govern their economic policy. They may, for example, have recourse to either enterprises subsidized and directed or controlled by the governments themselves or to the grant of financial assistance for the encouragement of scientific and technical research and the development of national industries and resources, or to customs duties or prohibitions of a temporary or permanent character, or to a combination of these different methods.

Whatever may be the methods adopted, the object aimed at by the allies is to increase the production within their territories as a whole to a sufficient extent to enable them to maintain and develop their economic position and independence in relation to enemy countries.

II. In order to permit the interchange of their products, the allies undertake to adopt measures facilitating mutual trade relations, both by the establishment of direct and rapid land and sea transport service at low rates and by the extension and improvement of postal, telegraphic, and other communications.

III. The allies undertake to convene a meeting of technical delegates to draw up measures for the assimilation, so far as may be possible, of their laws governing patents, indications of origin, and trade-marks. In regard to patents, trade-marks, literary and artistic copyright which come into existence during the war in enemy countries, the allies will adopt, so far as possible, an identical procedure to be applied as soon as hostilities cease. This procedure will be elaborated by the technical delegates of the allies.

IV. Whereas for the purpose of their common defense against the enemy the allied powers have agreed to adopt a common economic policy on the lines laid down in the resolutions which have been passed; and whereas it is recognized that the effectiveness of this policy depends absolutely upon these resolutions being put into operation forthwith, the representatives of the allied governments undertake to recommend that their respective governments shall take, without delay, all the measures, whether temporary or permanent, requisite to giving full and complete effect to this policy forthwith, and to communicate to each other the decisions arrived at to attain the object.

Paris, June 17, 1916.

Have signed these resolutions:

For France: M. E. Clémentel, Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie; M. G. Doumergue, Minister des Colonies; M. M. Sembat, Ministre des Travaux Publics; M. A. Metin, Ministre du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale; M. J. Thierry, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat de la Guerre (Service de l'Intendance); M. L. Nail, Sous-secrétaire d'Etat de la Marine (Marine Marchande); M. J. Cambon, Ambassadeur de France, Secrétaire Général du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; M. A. Masse, Secrétaire Général du Ministère de l'Agriculture; M. J. Branet, Directeur Général des Douanes; M. P. de Margerie, Ministre Plénipotentiare, Directeur des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

For Belgium: M. de Broqueville, Président du Conseil, Ministre de la Guerre; M. le Baron Beyens, Ministre des Affaires étrangères; M. van de Vyvere, Ministre des Finances; M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, Membre du Conseil des Ministres.

For Great Britain: M. le Marquis de Crewe, Lord President du Conseil privé; M. A. Bonar Law, Ministre des Colonies; M. W. M. Hughes, Premier Ministre d'Australie; Sir George Foster, Ministre du Commerce du Canada.

For Italy: S. Exc. M. Tittoni, Ambassadeur d'Italie à Paris; M. Daneo, Ministre des Finances.

For Japan: M. le Baron Sakatani, Ancien Ministre des Finances.

For Portugal: M. le Docteur Alfonso Costa, Ministre des Finances; M. le Docteur Augusto Soares, Ministre des Affaires étrangères.

For Russia: M. Pokrowsky, Contrôleur de l'Empire, Conseiller privé; M. Prilejaieff, Adjoint au Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie, Conseiller privé.

For Servia: M. Marinkovitch, Ministre du Commerce.

[Inclosure 2—Translation.]

The following persons, who are diplomatic representatives of the allied countries in Paris, have been appointed as a permanent committee of the economic conference:

Belgium: M. G. Peltzer, Vice President of the Union Economique Belge.

France: M. Denys Cochin, Minister of State, President of the Committee; M. Gout, Minister Plenipotentiary, Under Secretary of the Foreign Office; Contre Amiral Amet, Vice President of the Committee.

Italy: Prince Ruspoli, Minister Plenipotentiary Italian Embassy in Paris; Commandeur del Abbadessa, Assistant General Director of the Customs; Colonel Brancaccio.

Japan: Tatsuke, Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in Paris.

Great Britain: Earl Granville, Counsellor of the British Embassy in Paris.

Portugal: M. de Vilhena.

Russia: Sevastopoulo, Counsellor of the Russian Embassy in Paris; Batcheff, Commercial Attaché at the Russian Embassy in Paris.

Servia: Voulovitch, Deputy; Kapetanovitch, Deputy.

General Secretary:

BOSSERONT D'ANGLADE,
Minister Plenipotentiary.

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